THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE 25 cents

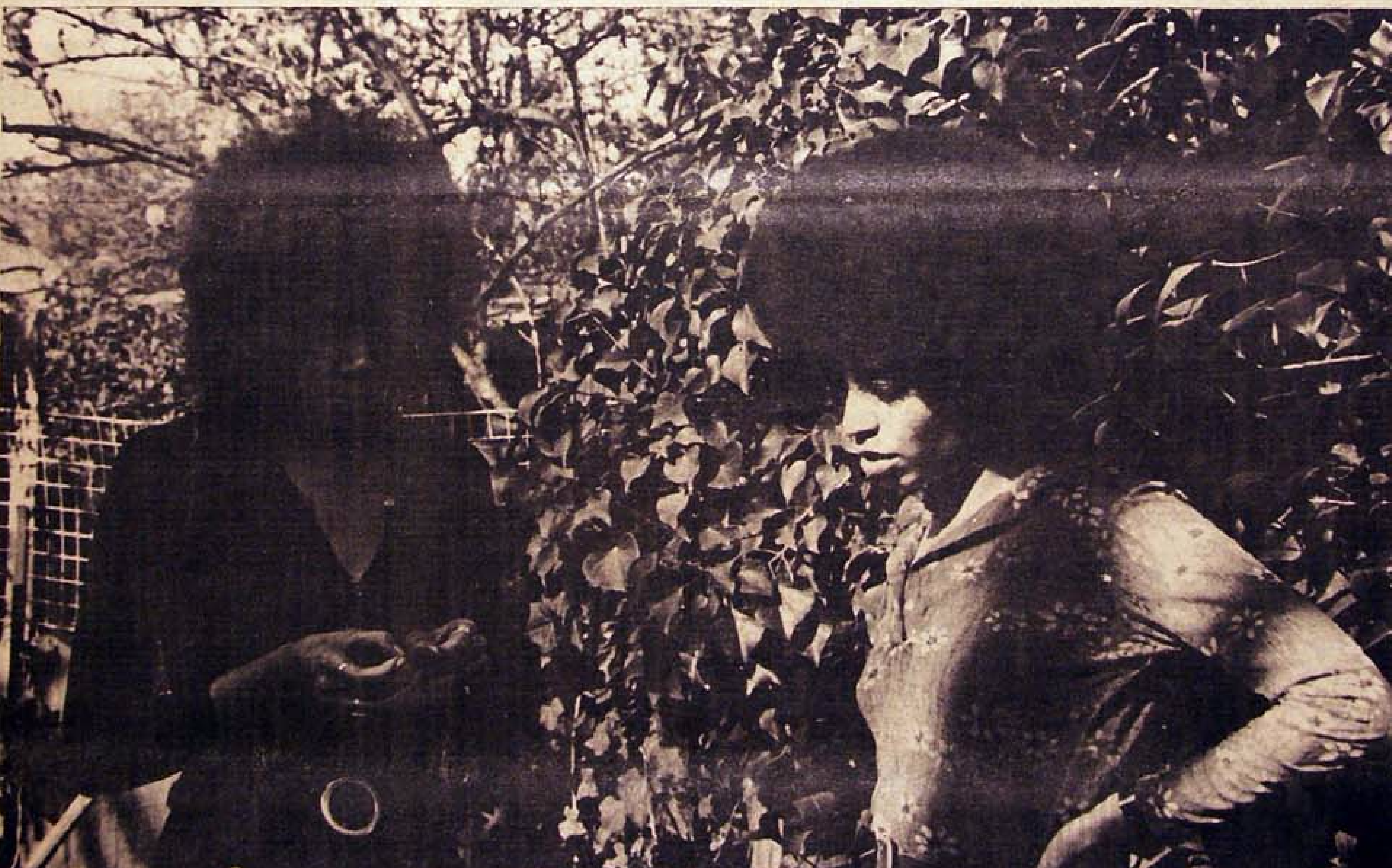
VOL. VII NO. 28 Copyright © 1971 by Huey P. Newton SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 1972

PUBLISHED WEEKLY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY MINISTRY OF INFORMATION BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126



WELCOME HOME, ANGELA DAVIS

-SEE SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT INSIDE-



COMRADES ERICKA AND ANGELA SHARE COMMON EXPERIENCE

AFTER RELEASE, ANGELA TALKS WITH OLD FRIENDS



When lynching became too difficult, and DR. KING'S assassination warned the world, the South resorted to the Northern specialty of the sophisticated legal lynching of Black men who refused to know "their place": a 30-year sentence went to BROTHER LEE OTIS JOHNSON.

TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS TO GO, NOW

BROTHER LEE OTIS JOHNSON DENIED APPEAL ON 30-YEAR MARIJUANA CONVICTION

In 1955, a weary, slightly-built Black woman refused to sit in the back of a Jim Crow bus in Montgomery, Alabama. This defiant gesture by Rosa Parks shocked and startled a sleepy, racist South. She was naturally arrested. It marked the beginning of the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Civil Rights Era in the United States, led by a young, then unknown Baptist preacher named Martin Luther King. Such a thing would have never happened in the North. The racism and oppression in the urban ghetto was/is much more sophisticated: de facto, racist segregation; oppression subtley cloaked in the "unfortunate" economic situation in which Black people find themselves. As it were, the South was not prepared for the Civil Rights Era. Their racism, their oppression, was much too overt. Public lynchings had ceased only a few years before. It took the South a long time to even begin to learn how to implement the "legal lynching", a long-time Northern specialty. Why railroad Blacks, when the local Klan sheriff could be judge, jury and executioner?

However, the mass demonstrations of the Civil Rights Era and the mass student organizing and voter registration drives focused too much attention on brutal, Southern racism. Therefore, the southern-style railroads of students and civil rights organizers were begun. Such is the case of Lee Otis Johnson, who had been one of the prime organizers in the civil rights movement during the Martin Luther King Era in Texas. Lee Otis was a field secretary in SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) and was very instrumental in organizing the students at Texas Southern University and the Houston Black community. The Texas Southern Campus had been the scene of many student demonstrations for a relevant Black Studies curriculum. Police harassment and surveillance at Texas Southern (TSU) was intensified during this time. Tensions were high. One night during that period, a battalion of Houston Police fired over 6,000 rounds of ammunition into a dormitory on the TSU campus, during what the police call the "TSU Riot". After the incidents at TSU, five students got political frame-up cases. They came to be known as the TSU Five. The Houston power structure tried to trump-up similar charges against Lee Otis, but, they were unable to do so. The fascists, realizing that they didn't have enough "valid" evidence to convict Lee Otis for conspiracy to incite a riot, decided to collaborate another fabricated charge against him, and get him later.

The Criminal Intelligence Division (CID) of the Houston pig department was put to work. The CID had already been watching SNCC and any other progressive groups and individuals in Houston. Frequent, sometimes daily reports on Lee Otis Johnson were made directly to Houston Mayor Welch's office. A constant surveillance of Lee Otis' every step was maintained. When this surveillance produced nothing, the CID put machinery into motion to set up Lee Otis Johnson.

A Black agent, CID rookie Billy Williams, began to frequent the many community meetings and demonstrations held during this period. After someone introduced him to Lee Otis, he had done all that was needed to complete the frame-up. He alleged that Lee Otis had given him one marijuana cigarette on March 8, 1968. It was not until six weeks later that a warrant for Lee Otis' arrest was sworn out, two days after he had

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6





DAVID HILLIARD, CHIEF OF STAFF, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

THE CHIEF

He appeared one soft quiet night
guards in abundance - him in white
A small unobtrusive benevolent man
Wisdom power held in his hand

The Chief

Prison a place devoid of life
A Sterile vacuum lacking much
A shadow engulfed our existence
Until his knowing patient touch

He brought truth, understanding, love
humanism, humility things unheard of;
but, always praise for another:
His lost, wandering, seeking brother

Chief

We soaked up knowledge like a sun-baked sponge
souls, hearts, minds - recast, reborn alive

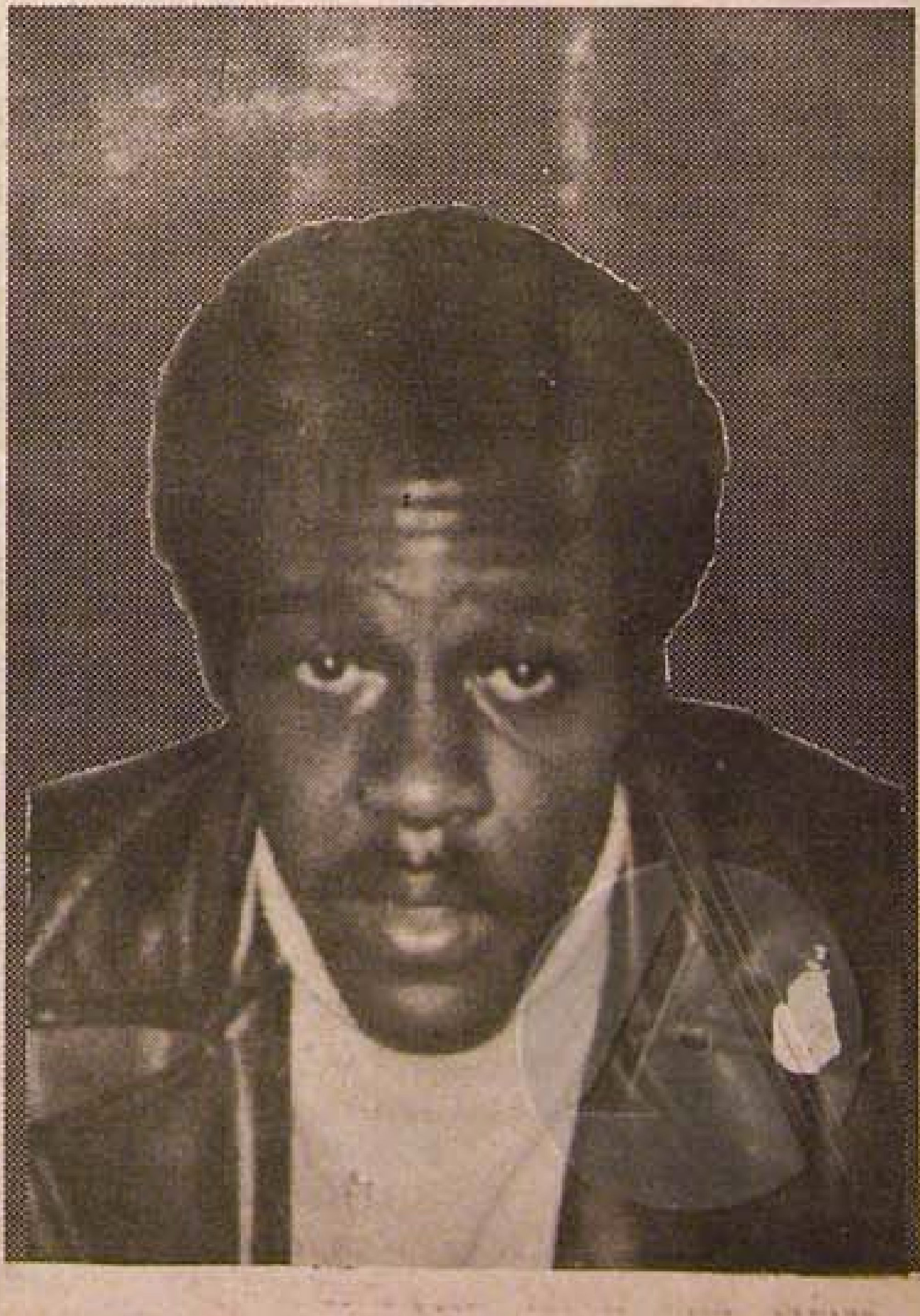
The interconnectedness of things - things and other things
opposites - both of the positive and negative strain -
Rapidly advancing, step upon relentless, rebellious step
God has died a thousand sworn deaths,
Truth is born in one hundred glorious births,
Agape, aghast, abundant -
A beautiful, spasmodic, rhapsodic interlude

Do not pause too long,
other plateaus beckon - "plunder me".
Off we go in an ever changing cosmic dust

GUIDANCE

Patiently he puts out his hand ..... The Chief!

B. J.



REGISTER TO VOTE FOR SURVIVAL

Since Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in the 1860's, the racist, exploitative U.S. government power structure has been telling us that we represent some part of this land's "citizenry". After three hundred years of chattel slavery, we were given the right to vote. Since then, we have been allowed into the lower rungs of the Democratic Party, and, even more recently, the Republican Party.

We have been used. As Black people, our bloc of votes, even this source of limited power, has not been used in our interests. Our collective vote has served every interest but our own.

We must begin to use the vote in the way that Brother Malcolm X stated, in a speech at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem, New York, in December, 1964, two months before he was killed: "What you can do is get registered so that you have power - political potential. When you register your political potential, that means you gun is loaded. But just because your gun is loaded, you don't have to shoot until you see a target that's beneficial to you." In other words, we register to mass our strength; and let it be known that only those who advocate and serve our interests will receive our vote. In this manner, we can begin to have representatives that are responsive to our needs and desires.

It is 1972 and we're still struggling to survive. After four hundred years, we, as a People, have learned that a phrase, a party, or a personality won't sustain us. In order to survive, we must have a program, a program geared to maintain our survival through the long struggle for our liberation.

We have the right to survive and the right to vote. The Survival Programs and voter registration are both inter-connected parts of our struggle to live and control our own lives, to have complete liberation.

Therefore, the Black Community is announcing a Black Community Survival Conference, so that we may begin to truly organize a structure to transform this society and make People's Power a reality. On March 29th, 30th and 31st, in Oakland, California, 10,000 people will receive free bags of groceries (with a chicken in every bag), along with Free Sickle Cell Anemia Tests; and, toward organizing meaningful Black political power, we will be registering people to vote, right there at the conference, so we'll be ready to vote for survival.

Those who come can hear Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Ericka Huggins, of the Black Panther Party, as well as other political speakers, like California Congressman, Brother Ron Dellums. The people's entertainers, the recording artists known throughout the community as the Persuasions (they have an album called "Street Corner Symphony") will also be there.

For further information about Registering to Vote for Survival, see the announcement on page 5.



"And, you are returned now, after all those months of 'FREE ANGELA'. It's really good to see you."

WELCOME HOME, ANGELA DAVIS

The following is a conversation that took place between Angela Davis and Elaine Brown, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, on February 25th, two days after Angela's release.

Angela and Elaine have been friends for quite a number of years now, being more, now, comrades in struggle. During the time of the taping, Ericka Huggins was there, and they all had a moment to recount old times, and realize even more that as Angela and Ericka had been released, so must all political prisoners:

ELAINE: Naturally, Angela, we want to welcome your return to the outside community. Your release has proven that the united efforts of the people can compromise the State's most vile and devious schemes against its victims. However, even though the jail contained your body, we know that your spirit and strong devotion to the struggle of Black people and oppressed people to be free, your spirit and devotion were not contained.

Since we've known each other for some time now, I hope this doesn't sound like rhetoric, for I can give personal testimony to your tireless and selfless work over the years. I think that contrary to what the pigs attempt to project, that your release and Huey's, Bobby's and Ericka's releases only demonstrate, firstly, how far the State will go, how it will twist any reality to silence and contain those who present the threat of unifying the people for struggle; and secondly, that the power of the people, the united oppressed masses can implement victory after victory, which shall surely culminate in complete liberation for us all.

I think that history and events often develop in quite interesting cycles, for I can remember our work in Los Angeles, and when, I suppose, or, it seems we were so very young and innocent. I can remember all those different organizations we ran through, so to speak; and in our different ways and times, our meeting Ericka, who told in deed, more than word, what the real role of the Black woman had to be in struggle. I think we can both agree as to her tremendous, positive influence on the correct way to struggle, the correct way to fight. I was thinking of how after we all, many of us, were arrested, ironically, after and on the day of Bunchy's (Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter) and Jon's (Jon Huggins, Ericka's husband, who along with Bunchy Carter was assassinated at UCLA on January 17, 1969), after their assassinations, where there seemed to be no one, you came and almost became a one-woman sit-in at Sybil Brand jail, waiting to get Ericka out of there. She went to bury Jon and they grabbed her again, and your voice was the loudest, your work the hardest to free her; then her and Chairman Bobby.

What I think I mean is that you too were taken, and it seemed too much: you and Ericka and all the others. I was in Hanoi at the time we heard of the entire chain of events, and I felt a real fear for your life; felt hopeless and helpless. So it's an interesting cycle: here we are, so to speak, sitting here after all of it, from Los Angeles and all that happened there, from Bunchy and Jon to Jonathan to George, Attica, tied in now with the struggling peoples of the world, we've come to this point now, to have lived and seen it, and facing the long and difficult times ahead. And, you are returned now, after all those months of "Free Angela". In a few words, it's really good to see you.

Maybe we could talk about some things about which many people would like to know your thoughts. Besides the fact that the California Court decision to abolish the death penalty was the technical point of law that led to your release, what do you see as the significance of that decision?

ANGELA: Elaine, it's beautiful to see you and Ericka. Over the last 16 months, all our visits have taken place on the other side of the walls --behind the concrete and steel where so many of our sisters and brothers are still imprisoned. Finally, now, we can sit back without having to peer over our shoulders at the jailers who were always there. You, Ericka and I have gone through a great deal together--we have seen the movement go through not a few changes. Together we have seen the contours of the Black liberation struggle take on revolutionary meaning. We have seen victories together, we have experienced pain together--and you know that that evening in L.A., January, three years ago, when Jon and Bunchy were assassinated and you and Ericka were arrested, made me realize that if my own life were ever to have any meaning, it would have to be devoted fully and without compromise to our movement for liberation.

I don't have to tell you how happy I feel at this moment--but even in the midst of the jubilation which surrounded my release, it has been impossible to forget the serious side of our struggle. Let me try to talk about

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

WELCOME HOME, ANGELA DAVIS

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

some of the things you raised. I'll start by trying to comment on the abolition of the death penalty--the court decision which made possible my release on bail.

First of all, a lot of people have seen the abolition of the death penalty as simply something that was handed down by a group of judges sitting on the supreme court. The supreme court did abolish the death penalty. But, I think that we have to realize that had the struggle around the prisons, which has been conducted both on the inside and on the outside, had that struggle not taken place over the last few years, the abolition of the death penalty in California would have been inconceivable. The judges on the supreme court obviously knew that when they came down with that decision, Ronald Reagan, Evelle Younger and all the rest of their cohorts would react the way they did. California is ruled by a clique of reactionaries. The supreme court must have known, however, that over the past few years so much work has been focused around sisters and brothers in prison, political prisoners - sisters and brothers who have become political prisoners by virtue of their political activities and organizing within all the maximum security dungeons of California - the Supreme Court must have realized that there is now a great deal of receptivity among people in California to the problems that prisons present. They wouldn't have handed down that decision if they thought that they were going to be completely isolated. So, we have to see this decision as a real victory of the mass movement; this movement dates back to the time that the Black Panther Party began to see the need to establish greater communications between the outside and the inside by initiating the Free Bussing Program. It dates back to the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee and all of the things that we who were working with that committee learned from George and John and Fleeta, and other sisters and brothers in the inside: they taught us that we not only had to defend them, but we had to begin to challenge the foundations of the prison system as a whole and the legal apparatus which buttresses it and relate this to the Black Liberation Struggle. If all this hadn't have happened, the abolition of the death penalty would not have taken place.

The significance of my own individual case, the fact that I was released on bail a few days ago, points to this very same movement. All over the country there have been beautiful, struggling sisters and brothers who have been calling for bail now, for about 16 months - since I was first arrested. They have continually shown the way in which political prisoners, Black and Brown especially, are further oppressed, by having to spend long, long months, sometimes long, long years in jail before trial. Bobby and Ericka -



"...you know that...when Jon and Bunchy were assassinated and you and Ericka were arrested, (it) made me realize that if my own life were to have any meaning, it would have to be devoted fully and without compromise to our movement for liberation."

their cases exposed to the people in this country that justice, what is called "justice" is really a sham, when a sister or a brother who has been active in the community, who has been organizing and relating to Black people and the needs of Black people and all oppressed people, can be ripped off, kidnapped, picked up from the streets, jailed and kept there for months and months and months. So I think that the significance of my release on bail points to the effectiveness of the mass movement. It shows that we can have victories; and, I think it is going to inspire us all to work much, much more intensely to free all our sisters and brothers.

ELAINE: What do you see as the immediate needs of Black people, within the framework of the long range goal of complete liberation?

ANGELA: There are many, many immediate needs, and, of course, our long range goal is revolution, the complete overturning and restructuring of the fabric of this society, complete abolition of racism, of inhumanity. The immediate needs have to do with very basic, biological facts. In the first place, one, of course, of the most immediate needs is to survive, to survive in terms of being able to have what's necessary to live and to struggle. Black people all over this country are suffering from starvation, malnutrition, lack of medical care, diseases, such as sickle cell anemia, all of which has been completely ignored for hundreds of years.

There are some immediate political needs which encompass these basic needs of survival. They have to do with, for instance, the unemployment situation in this country. As we all know, one of the ways in which racism has expressed itself is in the intense economic exploitation of Black people. Therefore, one of our immediate needs, of course, is to get the kinds of jobs that are going to allow us to survive. As has been continually pointed out and is expressed in the concept of a Survival Program, if we're ever going to make a revolution, we have to be able to survive.

We have immediate needs which relate to the prison struggle. And, of course, since I've been in prison, or in jail, rather, over the last 16 months, I consider myself a part of the prison struggle. The prisons all over this country are full of Black and Brown people; our numbers are disproportionate to our population - to the population of Black people in this country. One of our immediate needs is to resist all of the encroachments of police forces, of the legal apparatus, of the prison system into the Black community. It is still the case that a Black person can be arrested, can be picked up from the streets of our community for no reason at all, can be railroaded through the courts and to the prison system, and can spend a large part of his life in prison for no reason at all, or else, for something which is designated a

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

WELCOME HOME, ANGELA DAVIS

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

crime by the establishment, something which we, as Black people, would have to understand as being a symptom of our oppression. Practically all of our sisters and brothers who are in prison are there because of offenses which relate to property. We know that our oppression is expressed in the fact that we just don't have anything, we've been excluded from the capitalist system, and cannot be anything except excluded.

There are immediate needs of Black people which relate to the military structure in this country. We've been dying in Indochina and continue to die in Indochina, despite the fact that Nixon says that the war is "winding down". We have to continue to struggle around our sisters and brothers who are in the military. Since I've been in jail, I've received many, many, many, many letters from Black men who have been forced to go to Indochina and fight an atrocious, imperialist war of aggression against the people of Vietnam. I have also received messages expressing solidarity from Black women in the military.

I could go on and on and list many, many immediate needs that face us as Black people, as oppressed people of color, and many things around which we can struggle. Of course, in the process of trying to satisfy these immediate needs, we always have to deal within a perspective of revolution; and that is, in struggling around these immediate needs, we should be able to teach our sisters and brothers, and learn at the same time ourselves, that the final goal has to be revolution, it has to be socialism. The final goal has to be the establishment of a society where we, where all of the people have complete control over their own affairs and determine their destiny.



ANGELA and her mother, MRS. SALLYE B. DAVIS, both realize, in the midst of their jubilation over her release, that there's still a long, serious struggle ahead.

ELAINE: How best, then, do you feel those needs can be served. Essentially, you've covered the basic needs. Perhaps you might want to elaborate on how those needs can be met, what methods we might employ, etc.

ANGELA: When we talk about serving the needs of the people, serving the needs of Black people and of all oppressed people, we have to talk about a system whereby our people, our sisters and brothers, can struggle in a way to demand of the system that these needs be met. That's what I was talking about when I talked about integrating the struggle for immediate needs into a continuum of revolution. We've talked a great deal about the fact that when we build a mass movement the people have to become aware of their own power. The slogan "power to the people" is not rhetoric, it has a very significant meaning, in the sense that through victories we get a taste of what our ultimate power is, and our ultimate power is going to be to seize control over the apparatus which is oppressing us and transform it into a society which can truely serve all of our needs.

At the moment, there are many things that should be done, I think, to deal with the economic super-exploitation of Black people (and, these, of course, relate not only to Black and Brown people, they relate to all working people in this country). Let's talk for a while about the plight of the working people, Black working people, and how to integrate their immediate goals within the larger context of revolution. For I might point out the fact that when we attempt to evaluate the labor movement in this country, in terms of its traditions, and in terms of its own ability to struggle against capitalism, the really radical element of the labor movement has always been Black.

Recently, in a lot of labor unions, they have formed Black caucuses, other Black labor organizations. Organizations of Black workers have seen the need to form outside of the structure of the traditional labor unions. We know all the problems that exist in the labor movement, when we see a person like George Meany talking about the fact that he won't vote for a candidate who is not for complete victory (U.S. victory) in Indochina. I think that Black people, in general, have provided a standard for white workers. White workers have often failed to realize that, and have seen Black people as their enemy, and therefore have set themselves up to be further oppressed and thereby have perpetuated, or actually have acted as a vehicle for, racism in this country. I think that we

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

WELCOME HOME, ANGELA DAVIS

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

have to begin to see the Black worker as an important figure in the revolutionary struggle. Oftentimes, we don't see the Black worker as a Black worker, we tend to think of the worker as someone who is isolated somewhere in a factory and, therefore, is not an integral part of the community. As Black people, most of us, if we aren't working, are unemployed or we're in prison or we're in Vietnam. One of the things that we have to begin to recognize is that - and this is something that George Jackson pointed out on many occasions - there is a tremendous reservoir of revolutionary energy and power in our communities, because of the fact that we are workers, and because of the fact that the entire country depends on our labor in order to survive, in order to perpetuate itself.

ELAINE: In fact, the Black worker has not been viably brought into our struggle, and if you agree with this, to what do you attribute this and how do you propose the situation be corrected?

ANGELA: It's not true that the Black worker has not been brought into our struggle; but, on the other hand, I think that your question reflects that the Black worker hasn't fully been brought into the struggle as a Black worker. Most Black people, as we've been saying, are workers, in some way or another. However, the fact that racism has always been so intense in this country has tended to have the effect of, first of all, isolating the Black worker from the working class. Because of the intensity of racism in this country, Black workers have been isolated from the working class as a whole. Often, white workers have fought against Black workers, instead of fighting against their real enemy, the capitalist who oppresses all workers. Because of this particular phenomenon, when we talk about the Black worker, we tend to fail to see the Black worker as a live force in our community, but rather as someone who is hidden away on the assembly line, hidden away in the factory. Because Black workers have been, to a great extent, prevented from participating in the labor movement as a whole, we've failed to take



"......all political cases are significant, all cases involving Black people's lives are important and have to be dealt with."

cognizance of our own revolutionary potential as Black people, as working people.

Now, recently, there has been a surge in activity which relates directly to the labor movement in the country. Many of the strikes which have taken place over the last few years have actually been led, out in the streets, by Black workers. I remember very clearly the postal workers' strike. When you saw the television coverage of the postal workers strike, you saw Black workers out there with clenched fists. You saw them, the Black workers, actually conducting the movement out there in the streets. I think that this has begun to give us an idea of what the real revolutionary potential of Black people in this country is, in the sense, not only of bringing about our own liberation, our national liberation, liberation of Black people, but, in the sense of playing a vanguard role in a revolutionary movement which is going to affect the entire system in this country. What I would say, then, is when we speak about viably bringing the Black worker into our struggle, we speak of placing revolution on the agenda, we speak of realizing something that we've been talking about for a very long time, that is, projecting Black people as the revolutionary vanguard in this country, the revolutionary vanguard of the movement which is going to ultimately overturn the oppressive fabric of capitalism and which is going to build a socialist society.

One of the things that has been a constant problem in the whole movement in this country has been the tendency to isolate one particular area of struggle from the other. There was, of course, the student struggle, and that was supposed to have been a movement in and of itself, even to the point that some people were saying that students were going to be the ones to bring about the revolution. There was, and there continues to be, the struggle against the war in Indochina. White people primarily have tended to see that as something that white people should involve themselves in; therefore, although Black people are far more intensely affected by the war in Indochina and, in fact, far more passionately opposed to the war in Indochina, it has not been seen as the kind of movement that's been conducted by Black people. I'm saying all this to relate back to the discussion that we were having around the Black worker.

I would like to show now that there is definitely a relationship between the Black worker and the prison struggle. Prisons are full of Black workers, full of Black people who are in prison because of their not being able to realize their potential as Black workers, because there are no jobs available. However, once Black people find themselves in prison and begin to feel all of the reverberations from the movements that are now animating prisons across the country, the movements for liberation, then it's the prisoners themselves who begin to teach us that they are indeed workers and, in so far as they are prisoners, are forced to work for two cents an hour, five cents an hour, ten cents an hour at the most, and are, therefore, superexploited. Now, recently, there have been a number of efforts on the part of prisoners to bring this to the fore, and for instance, to establish labor unions inside the prisons. One of the first unions that was initiated in prisons, I think, was right here in California, in CMC (California Men's Colony) at San Luis Obispo, where Huey was imprisoned for so long. Just recently I was reading about the efforts of prisoners in New York to form a labor union. The thing that distinguishes that movement in New York is that they are reaching out, and they are trying to force labor unions on the outside to recognize them. They are trying to affiliate with, I think, local 65 in New York.

In any event, what is at work inside

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



"...one of the things that I have always attempted to encourage, in whatever way I could, is that committees working for my freedom should also go into the jails and prisons in their own area and find out who is there and what has to be done..."

WELCOME HOME, ANGELA DAVIS

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

the prisons, when we talk about Black workers, can be seen as having a number of different prongs. First of all, as I've said before, the prisons are full of Black people who are there because there aren't any jobs on this side of the wall. They are not able to eke out an existence which would be consistent with survival. Therefore, as we know, many sisters and brothers justifiably attempt to satisfy their needs with respect to survival by getting what they need, by going into a store and getting a loaf of bread, if you want to use that example. Once a sister or a brother is in prison, then she or he is forced to work. In most places, I think, once you're convicted, you have to work. (I know Huey was isolated for such a long time, because he refused to work for 3¢ an hour, or whatever it was.) With the whole impact of the revolutionary struggle inside the prisons, there has emerged a consciousness which has made the kind of thing that Huey first initiated, a few years ago, a far more widespread phenomenon. Many, many sisters and brothers are now demanding a decent wage, if they are going to work and make all the license plates in California, or down in Texas, pick cotton and hoe the fields, and all of the kinds of things that are done. Some forms of labor are actually monopolized by prisons, such as the license plates' manufacturing.

Prisoners are achieving a real consciousness in that respect, and are, therefore, demanding a decent wage. They're also achieving a consciousness which relates that struggle around the basic fact of labor to a revolutionary struggle. This is something that I think the entire working class movement can learn, from what is going down in prisons: how you connect the struggle for survival, the struggle for the meeting of immediate needs to a long-range, revolutionary struggle.

ELAINE: I think what you've said is good, because I think that the concept that the Black prisoner in the maximum security camp forms, then, that group of workers that is the most exploited, I think that's a concept that hasn't really been brought forward. In a sense, most people tend not to think of the Black prisoner other than in terms of the either reformed, or revolutionized or politicized convict or "criminal", outlaw. Therefore, I think that the concept is important to think about, because the prisoners perform in a vacuum, so to speak, or they perform their tasks in such an intensified situation that, in fact, their example will be, can be even clearer for those people who are outside, because there's so much more being engaged outside and there is so much more confusion outside, and the oppression is dulled, so to speak, not quite as direct and overt and intense, for the outside wage earner. I mean, nobody would work for 2¢ an hour, period, unless forced to. The concept is important. It is not only the struggle that Huey put forward, but Ruchell, now; I think that is one of the key things that he (Ruchell) has been bringing out himself. (I think he has brought out some figures on the people inside of the prisons and how much they were making, in terms of money, for the state.) That is part of his point that the prison system is a slave labor system, and that if the prisoner did no work at all, of course, there would be not just a small problem in the state of California, let's say, where Ruchell is located, but there would be a major problem in terms of the ability of the state to make the kind of money that it's presently making.

ANGELA: That's true. What's really interesting about this whole thing, if you read any of the manuals on penology, and if you read about the way in which the prison system in America has been conceived, one of the reasons for prisoners' working, or, the major reason for prisoners' working, is to "keep them out of trouble", to keep them from thinking too hard about the oppression that they're experiencing. Practically no one, even in California, which ironically is supposed to be the most progressive prison system in the country, no one would ever say that the work that prisoners do on the inside prepares them for any kind of employment once they're released. It has nothing to do with rehabilitation or preparation for the release or any of that. It's only to pass the time, to prevent prisoners from thinking about their own conditions. The ironic thing and the very beautiful thing about what's happening in prisons now is that right there on the job, right there at the place where they are supposed to be least aware, they are obtaining an awareness, obtaining the consciousness and are relating to the revolutionary struggle through the labor that they're doing. That's the really beautiful thing about what's been

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

WELCOME HOME, ANGELA DAVIS

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

going down inside the prisons in this country.

There is another way in which we can relate the struggle of the Black worker to the struggle which is unfolding inside the prisons today, and that has to do with the incredible unemployment situation in this country which affects mostly, which we've said before, Black people, in a way that's *virtually unimaginable. The* unemployment rate among youth in the Black community has been this year as high as 35% to 40%. The Black worker has to realize that because we, as Black people, are at the very bottom of the economic ladder (actually, when I say Black people, I must include Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, and all people of color in this country, who are super-exploited because of their color and because of their nationality), people of color who are working out on the streets today must begin to realize that because we are the first targets of economic oppression, because we are the first to feel any kind of crisis, because we are the first to be unemployed, we're going to be the first to be hit by the legal apparatus. I'm talking about, actually, the whole police network, the courts and the prisons. There is a direct line, then, which leads from the Black worker to the prison. It works both ways.

ELAINE: You can envision it increasing with the increased use of the already-existing technological advances in industry and in production of material, because, obviously, of the old and true saying about Blacks being the last hired and the first fired. That is, it is almost certainthat as technology is souped-up, so to speak, this would put the Black man, let's say, at this point (or the Black woman, whoever is the so-called "breadwinner" of the family), in the position where if there is no such



ability to obtain money from the State, through welfare, to live, to survive (and even if there is any kind of ability, it's not going to be enough, especially for people that are used to being involved in some sort of productive work or going about working for themselves and getting certain amounts of money every week), then they won't have any choice but to turn to activity that is considered outside of the law. So that it could be said that the expected, increased use of technological devices, and so-forth, would throw a large number of Black people into the position in which many Black people are already, which is inside the maximum security camps (which might be part of some super-plan, anyway). Even if it isn't intentional, per se, on that issue, this projected increase certainly has to be part of the large operation to move Black people, and really, of course, people of color (Chicanos and Indians, all of these people) into the prisons, into the camps; or else kill them. I think that this is definitely something that's coming into being.

ANGELA: That's why we really have to revaluate what has traditionally been called the lumpen proletariet. There has been the tendency, as we know, to romanticize the lumpen proletariet, and to say that the lumpen *proletariet is going to be the vanguard of the revolution.* There has been the tendency at the opposite end of the spectrum to completely undermine the role of sisters and brothers who might be called the lumpen-proletariet. As you have said, we probably have to redefine our terms and perhaps seek out something which does not carry the historical connotation of a parasitic class of drug pushers and criminals, in the classical sense. The reason we have to do this is because the phenomena that lead so many Black people directly into prison is related to the existence of racism. It's the whole national character of our struggle in the Black community. As you pointed out before, many, many people are forced to resort to methods which are designated as "criminal", in order to survive. As technological development increases (and, of course, if it were not for the capitalist system, it would have advanced at a far greater pace than it has already), then Black people will continue to be most intensely affected by the phenomenon of technological unemployment. Then, you will have scores of thousands of Black people out there on the streets with no where to go, no where to turn, to become easy targets for all of the police forces that are occupying our community.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

WELCOME HOME, ANGELA DAVIS



"Our task is to work to liberate all political prisoners, and, when we say political prisoners, we're talking about all sisters and brothers who are in the prisons, because of the prevailing political, economic, social conditions in this country."

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

What we have to do - and I think this is something that is going to require a great deal of thought - is begin to try to develop an analysis of the conditions that Black people face in this country, taking into account the economic function of racism. Often we talk about the way in which the movement has tended to separate different areas, different arenas of struggle. Too often we tend to separate racism from the economic exploitation that Black people experience, and, therefore, don't realize that when you compare, say, the exploitation that white people experience with the exploitation that Black people experience, it's not as if you just have racism added on to exploitation, but it's going to change the character of that economic exploitation. So, I think that is something that really more and more people should begin to think very seriously about, because it's going to determine whether or not we can develop effective methods of struggle to lead us to revolution.

ELAINE: I want to move into another question. Since we're talking now and we're connecting the inside prisons to the outside prisons, or those in the maximum camps to those in the minimum, you have yourself, of course, done a lot of fine work and very effective work in behalf of the brothers and sisters across the country who are incarcerated in the maximum prisons of the United States. There are many, many cases, of course, there are several thousands of cases that our brothers and sisters are involved in, all of which we consider as political, in the sense that it is the political climate and the conditions of society that have created their situation, so that, in fact, they become political prisoners. There are some cases that are very extreme, that bring the point home and become very significant because they do this. I was wondering if you might want to talk about some of the more significant political cases that are presently in existence.

ANGELA: Yes. You are right, that the real problem is that there are so many thousands of political prisoners in this country. Our tasks is to work to liberate all political prisoners, and, when we say political prisoners, we're talking about all sisters and brothers who are in prisons, because of the prevailing political, economic, social conditions in this country. There are a number of cases involving political prisoners which have received a great deal of public attention over the last few years: of course, there's Huey's case, Bobby and Ericka, the Soledad Brothers, and a number of other cases that have received a great deal of publicity, and my own case, perhaps, I should say something about that. One of the problems is that too many people have failed to grasp the immensity of the problem of political prisoners, because the media focus only on a few. One of the reasons this is done is, of course, to create the kind of public climate that will lead many people to feel that when a leading political prisoner has been freed or released on bail, then, the problem has somehow been solved, or that the problem doesn't really exist at all. You know, when we speak of Bobby and Ericka and Huey, one of the favorite cliches of the establishment media is this: sure, Black people can get justice in this country, look at Huey Newton, Ericka Huggins and Bobby Seale. I think, therefore, that what we have to do is attempt to unfold the issues that are involved in cases of political prisoners, the issues which encompass all of the thousands of political prisoners. This doesn't mean that

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

WELCOME HOME, ANGELA DAVIS



"...the final goal has to be revolution, it has to be socialism. The final goal has to be the establishment of a society where we, where all of the people have complete control over their own affairs and determine their destiny."

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

we don't focus on individuals. We have to focus on concrete situations and concrete individuals.

One of the things that we can do, and this is what I attempted to do while I was in prison and what I will continue to attempt to do, there are a number of committees across the country who have formed Angela Davis Defense Committees. They were founded to work for my freedom and around my case. All across the country, wherever there are committees, there are also prisons. There may not be in, say, a small town in Oklahoma, a political prisoner who has achieved the kind of national image that the media create. There may be a Norma Gist. There may be a sister who lives in a place like Idabel, Oklahoma, who, because of the fact that she was a leading community organizer in that town, the whole wrath of that local power structure was released upon her. This beautiful sister is now in prison. As I was saying before, one of the things that I have always attempted to encourage, in whatever way I could, is that committees working for my freedom should also go into the jails and prisons in their own area and find out who is there and what has to be done in those jails and prisons. Then they can relate my case and the struggle around my freedom to the struggle around the freedom of all the sisters and brothers there. They have to find concrete ways of organizing people, because people in the community are going to relate on a much more profound level to themselves and to their needs and to the people who come from their community. In that way they can even understand what the issues are in my case, or what the issues were in Ericka's case, in Bobby's case. They can understand that much more readily.

Getting, now, to the second part of your question, as to what are some significant political cases today (all political cases are significant, all cases involving Black people's lives are important and have to be dealt with). If we, for instance, look at this area of the country, look around us in California, look inside the maximum security camps here, we see, of course, immediately, we see John Clutchette and Fleeta Drumgo. They have become international symbols. They are carrying on a struggle which they began with one of our very beautiful comrades who fell in that struggle, who was forced to sacrifice his life to that struggle. We see Ruchell Magee, my co-defendant. We see the San Quentin Six, Larry Spain, Luis Talamantez, Willie Tate, Fleeta, Hugo Pinell and David Johnson. We see Robert Wesley Wells, who, at the age of 63 (I think he's 63 now) is definitely a living symbol of the kind of struggle that prisoners have had to wage for many, many years. He spent over 40 years in California prisons. We have to struggle around Brother Wells' case. I could go on and on and on. I think all of these cases are significant. Let me just say that the most important thing, the most significant thing is what I was trying to get at before, that the struggle around political prisoners has to be brought down to a very basic, very concrete level, and we have to reach into all the prisons throughout the country and we have to break all the chains and shatter all the walls.

ELAINE: I think what I was speaking about particularly, about significance, is that some people have been pulled out for such extraordinarily barbarous treatment by the state authorities, yet, in fact, their cases are so usual and common. Of course, as we say, one of the reasons is that they refuse to bow and to scrape. I think this is significant in that sense. I would like to talk for a moment about just Johnny Larry Spain (one of the San Quentin Six), so you can look at his case. When he was 17 years old, he was arrested for a murder case. There was no evidence. There were no witnesses. He had refused to talk during the trial, because it was absurd. He didn't have proper legal defense, of course. Someone had gotten shot, at a party, in a neighborhood. A thousand Black people go to parties, and probably that many people get shot at and so forth, for a variety of conditions which don't need to be discussed at this moment. The only reason he didn't get the death penalty is because he was just 17 years old. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. Therefore, his was just a nicely wrapped-up case. It was all wrapped-up very neatly and nicely, until he began to just refuse to do little things in the prisons, that is to say, get beaten and say "thank you very much" for it. Now he ends up one of six people who are becoming well known, whose cases are special, in a sense, all of whom have very similar cases, similar in the sense that they are usual, similar to brothers and sisters across the country, who were not necessarily even involved in what

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

WELCOME HOME, ANGELA DAVIS

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

we call sometimes "crimes of survival". Their cases are similar to brothers and sisters who might have just been walking down the street or passing by this place or that, and gotten picked up for poor identification, put on a line-up, thrown into jail, had improper representation, whose family couldn't afford an attorney, who make a deal (or don't make a deal) and end up in the prison. These people are not special, except in the sense that they really were just trying to live their lives, even under these most absurd conditions, the absurd conditions of the Black and poor people in this country. Of course, George's case was so obviously that same thing, a $70 robbery which no one is quite sure even took place. However, $70 is hardly reason to say that someone should be incarcerated for 11 years, and murdered. So, I think that because they are there, they can bring other people to the understanding that you don't have to do anything special, you don't have to be born with special attributes, to be any of these people that have been brought out by the press particularly, that you don't have to do any of these things except for try to live. You can just start out by breathing, that would be a beginning point; then, wanting to continue to breathe is the real crime, just wanting to continue to live and to survive and, perhaps, enjoy this experience of life. As you mentioned, people like Robert Wesley Wells...

ANGELA: Same thing. His original conviction came because he was accused of a car theft or something like that. When we talk about that, we all know that there are many white middle-class youth who go out and decide they're going to have some fun one night, get into a car, hot wire it or find a car with the keys in it, do some riding in it and...

ELAINE: And, the police call their parents and give them a meal...

ANGELA: Right. Or, they get a little admonition and they're told never to do it again, or this or that. They never even see the inside of a jail. And, here is Wesley Wells, who has been in prison, for over 40 years.



"...if we're ever going to make a revolution, we have to be able to survive."

One of the things that's interesting is that this hasn't passed unnoticed over all these years. Black people have realized what is happening to us, what has been happening to us, because in the early '50's, and even before that, one of the greatest Black people in this country, W.E.B. DuBois, was writing about the need to go into the prisons and the need to realize that there are so many Black people in prison, simply because they're Black, and, as you said, because they can't afford the legal representation that would allow them to enjoy their rights.

There is something that is absolutely incredible, I found absolutely incredible, and I think many people who aren't conversant with the law in this country would also find it incredible, is that it was just a few years ago that it was decided by the Supreme Court that a person accused of a crime had to have a lawyer. It was either '63 or '64 that the Supreme Court ruled that a person couldn't go to trial without a lawyer. You know that Black people, Chicanos and native Americans, they're the ones who can't afford to get a lawyer. Therefore, when we talk about railroads, just imagine what has happened since 1863, when Black people had been continuously forced to go to trial and often for things they had nothing to do with; and to get up there and try to talk the law, try to face a district attorney who has studied for years and years and years all the stupid complexity of the law. The brother or sister had to try to defend himself in any way he could. There's no way to compare that, because you know what it's like to go into a courtroom and hear them talking a jargon that often doesn't make sense at all to a lay person. It was just a few years ago that a person accused of a crime was given the right to be represented by a lawyer in order to receive a valid conviction. That's absolutely incredible.

Since we have been focusing a great deal of discussion around the prisons, I think that it's important to recognize some of the great achievements that the prison struggle has attained over the last few years. All of us know that one of the largest barriers to developing a revolutionary struggle which encompasses all oppressed and exploited people in this country has been the racism which filters up from its institutional foundation into the attitudes of people in this country. The movement - of course, I am speaking of the entire movement, which also involves white people - has been wrought with racism, racism that has often been unrecognizable, especially by the white people who have those racist attitudes. As we were saying before, the fact that white people had sort of considered the anti-war movement their domain is in itself an indication of the kind of racism which the whole movement in this country faces. In the prisons, though, on the other hand, there have been some really interesting developments in terms of the ability of a group of people struggling together to combat racism, in so far as that is concerned. One of the things that has emerged very clearly in the last few years, as the prison struggle has unfolded, when we speak of overt racism, the prisons are the places where that is most intense and most evident. In the states outside of the South, segregation was supposedly abolished quite a few years ago (segregation, of course, is just one form of racism, and not by far its defining characteristic). However, in prisons all over, segregation has been just a normal thing. Black prisoners have been segregated from white prisoners. There has been a great deal of overt discrimination against Black prisoners, Chicano prisoners, Indians and Puerto Ricans.

Then, of course, we have also learned, through the writings of George

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

WELCOME HOME, ANGELA DAVIS

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

Jackson and through other sisters and brothers and comrades who are on the other side of the walls, we've learned that racism has been used as a tool by the jailers to prevent a movement from emerging. The guards have continually played white people against Black people. Out here in California, it was a 3-way thing, because Chicanos were pitted against whites, Chicanos against Blacks, Blacks against whites, so forth and so on. In the prison movement, however, prisoners learn very quickly that if there were going to be any kind of effective means of challenging what has been going down there, then those racist attitudes have to be dealt with. Attica, of course, was a beautiful demonstration of the ability of prisoners to overcome virtually insurmountable obstacles. We've often talked about Black/white unity and haven't given it the kind of content that it needs. Attica really demonstrated that you can talk about a unity, trans-racial unity, which is not the kind of thing we were talking about during the civil rights era (which we learned from, but have transcended), a unity that was based on the recognition of the leadership of Blacks (because the leadership was primarily Black and Puerto Rican, although on the other hand there were also white leaders who recognized that racism was the first priority, especially in the need to combat racism, the institutional racism in the prisons as a first priority). Then, let us consider what has happened out here. There were groups in practically all the prisons that were not just all white or not just racist, but they were self-avowed fascist groups: the Aryan Brotherhood, Hitler's Helpers. (George talks about Hitler's Helpers in his book. The Black caucus report to the legislature refers to the Aryan Brotherhood at Soledad.)

As the prison movement became more intense, I think it was the more politically-aware Black prisoners who went to the white prisoners and attempted to show them that they were also being oppressed. There was a beautiful scene that was described to me which involved George and a white prisoner who had been apparently told to see to it that George was murdered. The scene was set up to create a confrontation between them, a fight, and therefore the occasion for the jailers to murder George, even then. He was able, in that kind of a tense situation, to reach out to this white prisoner, and to say: now look what you're doing and look where you are; you're behind bars too; what they're doing, they're not only hurting me, but they're hurting you. So I think that we have a lot to learn from the ways in which prisoners have sought to deal with problems with which we're confronted, within the movement as a whole. and the achievements with respect to combating racism within that movement have been enormous. We still have a lot to learn.

ELAINE: There is one other thing that I was thinking of, in regard to the prison situation. It is a point connected with our discussion on struggling, in that we have to always be able to struggle correctly. Naturally, a correct analysis of each situation is required, to guide our action, and always, as you say, within a revolutionary perspective. Each new tactic on the part of the State will, as the recent past has evidenced, be molded, with sophistication, to fit the particulars, with confusing the people in mind. I was thinking of this particularly as it regards the statute that legally effected your release: the abolition of California's death penalty. In form, at face value, this move could appear fundamentally progressive on the part of the State. In fact, however (although we can always turn even the oppressor's tricks to our benefit), in essence it was a reactionary concession, with an attempt to project a modicum of humanity onto the State, for even this concession had to be eked out, forced out of the State by the people's progressive acts over the past few yeas. For, it is a fact that with the abolition of capital punishment in the state of California came all kinds of cries from the state officials, various police authorities and so forth that this would unleash the horrible murderers of little children, and all such images of persons such as this, the rapist, the murderer-rapist, etc.

The paradox came when they decided that they wanted to re-institute a partial death penalty, or, let's say, a "special" death penalty, in certain cases. The cases that they chose, however, weren't the rape cases, or those



"...we have to reach into all the prisons throughout the country and we have to break all the chains and shatter all the walls."

involving small children running through the streets in terror of these violent, "insane" men. They called for the death penalty for those people convicted of killing police, who don't exactly represent unarmed children on the street. This still includes people such as yourself. So, the absurdity of their concern and their "humanity" is shown in that very fact. I was just thinking about it because it was just so ridiculous. What they're saying is: "we" don't really care about all these so-called child-molesters, rapists, etc; we care less about these people that have been convicted of these things than we do about people who are supposedly killing police. What I'm saying is that the abolition of the death penalty in this state, in California, was, just as you've said, a point to which they had to come, because of pressure from the masses of people; but it certainly didn't represent a human response on the part of the State to erase this barbaric use of the death penalty in this day and age.

Also, of course, the number of people that have been killed inside the state

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

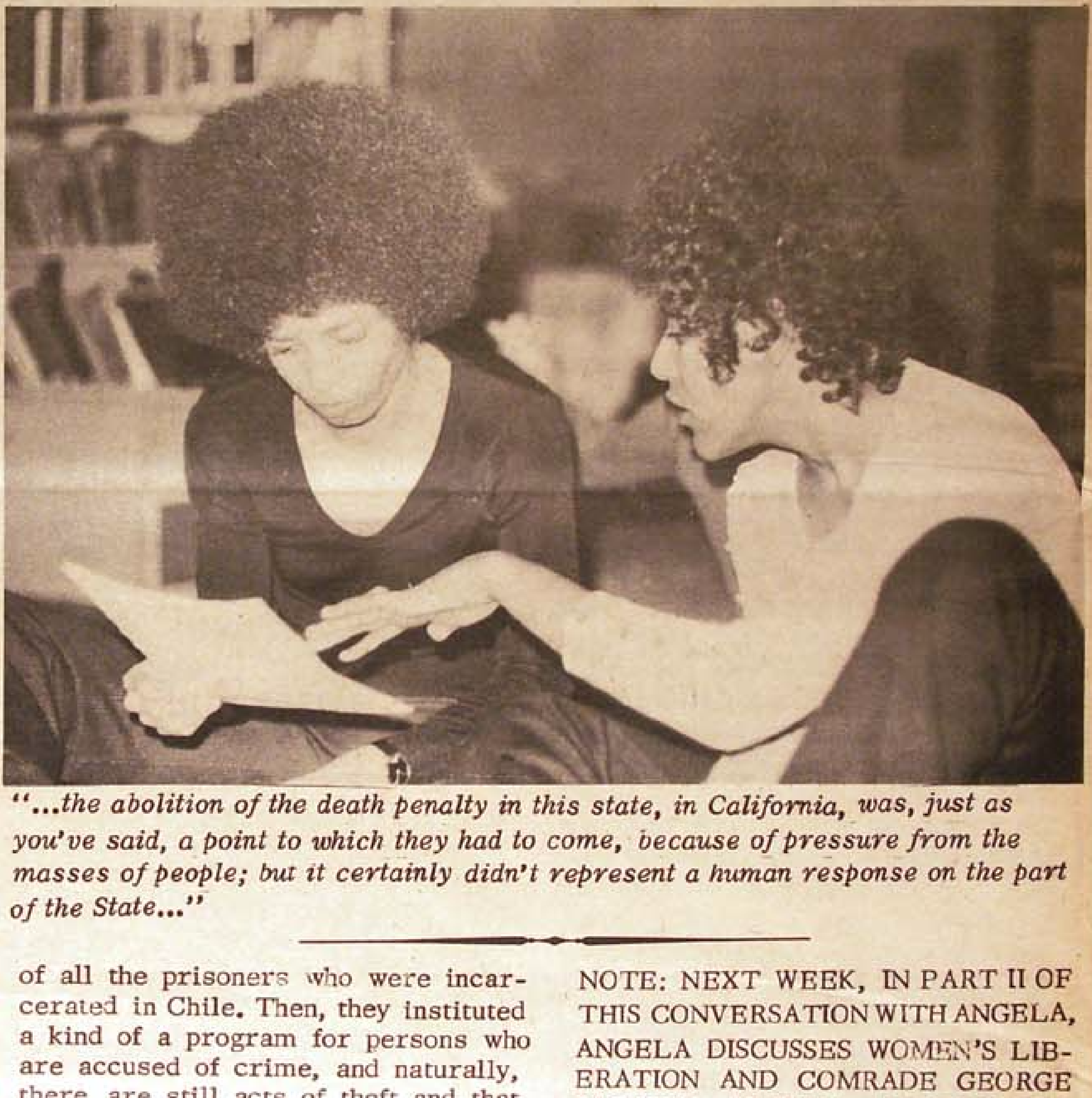
WELCOME HOME, ANGELA DAVIS

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE
prisons since the turn of the century, the greater number of people killed has certainly not been because of the death penalty, but because of the state's outright murder, using undercover and underhanded methods of murder, of the inmates in the prison. This struggle must still, must be more firmly and strongly waged, because people's lives are still jeopardy. There isn't any sudden "OK", now, on everybody's life, or some life-time guarantee. As we've pointed out, particularly in George's case, certainly it wasn't the cyanide capsule that killed George, even though he was facing the death penalty. It wasn't that, that killed him. The dropping of the death penalty has little meaning in his case, which projects, clearly, the idea that it will have little meaning for those still suffering in the camps. The need, then, to keep up the strong communication and the link-up between the people inside and outside, for this reason and those we've talked about, is a struggle that must be waged, continue to be waged.

I want to get to another question if we can...

ANGELA: Just one more point; and I think it's an important point, because it relates to the contribution of the prison struggle to the revolutionary struggle as a whole. When people, generally, ask someone who is a communist, or a socialist (and I'm a communist, a member of the Communist Party) about prisons, they inevitably say, well what are prisons like in the Soviet Union,, in China, what's happening here and what's happening there. Just the other day, I had the occasion to talk with a member of the Chilean Senate, who is also the head of the Confederation of Labor Unions in Chile. His name is Luis Figueroa. He was a fraternal delegate to our (Communist Party, U.S.A.) Convention in New York last week. He came out here 2 days ago to visi with me. I asked him about Chile, which is a country striving for socialism. He said it is a country striving for socialism in the sense that the electoral victory (last year's election of Allende) was a basis from which to carry out their revolution. He said that they had immediately attempted to restructure the prison system. First of all, they released all political prisoners, all persons who had been charged with crimes against the government, before (before the election of Allende). Second of all, they reduced virtually all the sentences of all the prisoners who were incarcerated in Chile. Then, they instituted a kind of a program for persons who are accused of crime, and naturally, there are still acts of theft and that type of thing; but, of course, that takes on a different significance once you have a situation where people are beginning to exercise their collective power, because it becomes a crime not against an oppressive social order, but it becomes a crime against the struggling people. However, they felt that they couldn't deal with it in the same way the capitalist system dealt with crimes against the capitalist system. They would have to develop some new methods. One of the things that they have is a program whereby a person who commits that kind of an act has to be assisted in understanding what he has done, understanding that he has only hurt himself. Then, after understanding that, making some kind of promise to work with the people, instead of against the people; and then, he doesn't do any kind of "time", he's just let out, like that. What that becomes is a process of education. I didn't really get that much information about it, because we didn't talk for very long. He said he would send me some more material about the things that they're doing in the prisons in Chile. I just thought it was very significant that in that country they see the prison situation as a very important problem, a problem important enough to be integrated into a worker's struggle, too, because all the trade unions have committees which relate directly to prisons and deal with that.

END OF PART I



"...the abolition of the death penalty in this state, in California, was, just as you've said, a point to which they had to come, because of pressure from the masses of people; but it certainly didn't represent a human response on the part of the State..."

NOTE: NEXT WEEK, IN PART II OF THIS CONVERSATION WITH ANGELA, ANGELA DISCUSSES WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND COMRADE GEORGE JACKSON, AS WELL AS GIVING HER THOUGHTS ON A NUMBER OF OTHER SUBJECTS.

ALSO: Angela's trial began on February 28th, with the court's finally agreeing to allow the jury selection process to take place in open court. (Previously, the presiding judge, Richard E. Arnason, had insisted that this beginning phase of a public trial be held in his private chambers.) The first panel of prospective jurors was, as predicted, all white. Jury challenging and selection will be going on all week. See next week's issue of the Black Panther for more information.

10,000 FREE BAGS OF GROCERIES

(WITH CHICKENS IN EVERY BAG)

WILL BE GIVEN AWAY AT THE

BLACK COMMUNITY SURVIVAL CONFERENCE

MARCH 29, 1972	Oakland Auditorium 10th St. OAKLAND, CALIF.	(DOORS OPEN AT 5:00 P.M.)
MARCH 30, 1972	Brookfield Park 525 Jones Ave. (off of Edes) OAKLAND, CALIF.	(12:00 P.M.)
MARCH 31, 1972	San Pablo Park 2800 Park St. (at Oregon) BERKELEY, CALIF.	(12:00 P.M.)



BOBBY SEALE
CHAIRMAN OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

RON DELLUMS
CALIFORNIA CONGRESSMAN

ERICKA HUGGINS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ORGANIZING BLACK POLITICAL POWER LIKE IT'S NEVER BEEN DONE BEFORE!

JUST LIKE YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE, YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO EAT. TOGETHER WE CAN ACHIEVE ALL OUR RIGHTS. FOR THREE DAYS THERE'LL BE FREE FOOD, FREE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA TESTS, POLITICAL SPEAKERS AND ENTERTAINMENT.

10,000 SICKLE CELL ANEMIA TESTS

PEOPLE'S ENTERTAINMENT

THE PERSUASIONS

RECORDING ARTISTS







SPEAKERS:

• SISTER JOHNNIE TILLMAN •

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, WELFARE RIGHTS ORGANIZATION

- **JULIAN BOND,** GEORGIA STATE SENATOR
- **D'ARMY BAILEY,** BERKELEY CITY COUNCILMAN
- **IRA SIMMONS,** BERKELEY CITY COUNCILMAN
- **ARTHUR EVE,** NEW YORK STATE ASSEMBLYMAN
- **LLOYD BARBEE,** WISCONSIN STATE ASSEMBLYMAN
- **DONALD WILLIAMS,** MEDICAL AUTHORITY ON SICKLE CELL ANEMIA
- **REVEREND CHARLES KOEN,** BLACK UNITED FRONT, CAIRO, ILLINOIS
- **FATHER EARL NEIL,** ST. AUGUSTINE EPISCOPAL CHURCH
- **MARSHA MARTIN,** STUDENT BODY PRESIDENT, MILLS COLLEGE
- **JODY ALLEN,** CHAIRMAN OF THE B.S.U., LANEY COLLEGE

REGISTER TO VOTE FOR SURVIVAL

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION AT CONFERENCE, CONTACT THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS, 1048 PERALTA STREET, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA CALL (415) 465-5047

TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS TO GO, NOW

BROTHER LEE OTIS JOHNSON DENIED APPEAL ON 30-YEAR MARIJUANA CONVICTION



Even a quiet legal lynching in a Southern town will not silence the Lee Otis Johnsons.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

spoken at a memorial for Dr. Martin Luther King, who had just been cut down by a racist assassin's bullet in Memphis, Tennessee.

Lee Otis was arrested and charged with possession and sale of one marijuana cigarette (in Texas, a gift constitutes a sale). Not long after that, Lee Otis Johnson went to trial on these phony criminal charges for his political beliefs and activity.

Billy Williams, the Black undercover agent, testified during the trial that he (Billy Williams) had received one marijuana cigarette from the defendant, Lee Otis Johnson. That was all that was needed. A few racists were thrown in to testify regarding his "militant" activity, while the press began suddenly presenting detailed descriptions of all civil rights activity and student protests, to properly prejudice the jury. The Houston power structure had their conviction. Lee Otis Johnson was sentenced to the unbelievable penalty of thirty years in the Texas State Prison system.

It is interesting to note that pig Billy Williams, along with three other narcotics agents, E.J. Stringfellow, L. Lanbrum and B.A. Alcorn, were responsible for the brutal beating, to the point of near death, of Jimmy Ray Richardson, a Brother who lives in the Third Ward Black Community in Houston. Above all, Billy Williams, along with his cohorts, is known to be one of the most nortoriously barbaric and sadistic members of the force. Also, Billy Williams' promotion to this elite squad of fascists (Houston Police Department's Narcotics Squad) is primarily attributed to the part he played in helping the State to falsely convict Lee Otis Johnson.

None of this is new information, for Brother Lee Otis is safely "tucked" away, silenced, and the world can go on as "usual". There have been the court battles for appeal: since the trial, Lee Otis' attorneys, Bobby Caldwell, William Walsh, Bennett Stokes and Charles A. Keilen have petitioned the Federal Courts. They are arguing: 1) that Lee Otis was denied a change in venue for the trial; 2) that his trial was prejudiced by the widespread publicity by the news media; 3) that the severity of the penalty (30 years) constitutes "cruel and unusual" punishment; and 4) that he was entrapped in a racist legal network and denied effective assistance and counsel. Also, since the trial, various defense committees and defense funds have been established. This community support, coupled with the legal work done for Lee Otis, forced the U.S. Federal District Court to grant him a hearing this year on motions for a re-trial.

At the hearing (which was held on January 4, 1972), Houston pig chief, Herman B. Short, and various other members of the State's conspiracy against Lee Otis, took the stand. Short pretended not to recognize Lee Otis, although he had been one of the main men "behind the scenes" in the original frame-up. Lee Otis' attorneys used Short's and other racists' testimony to show that Lee Otis could not possibly have obtained a fair trial in Houston. The state contended that a racist attitude toward Lee Otis had nothing to do with his conviction by a jury of non-peers. Presiding Judge Bue, however, ruled that the State would have to grant Lee Otis a retrial within ninety-days, or release him.

The people who attended the hearing were jubilant! They were happy that Lee Otis would be out in three months. However, Houston's power structure is not giving up that easy. The District attorney has already filed an appeal that will tie the case up in Federal Court for at least another year, effectively, for the moment, denying Lee Otis release.

This is not the first time that Houston bureaucrats have filibustered around Lee Otis' case. Once, for example, in 1969, and two times in



BROTHER JIMMY RICHARDSON, like Lee Otis, found out too late about black pig Williams.

1970, motions for an appeal and/or re-trial hearing have been denied. On the third occasion, a petition containing 13,000 signatures demanding Lee Otis' freedom was submitted. The court also chose to ignore this.

The case of Brother Lee Otis Johnson is just another example of the Southern railroad. It may be a little quieter, a little more subtle than before, but it is just as vicious, as calculated, as cold as the public lynchings, so popular in the thirties. The sufferings of the Lee Otis Johnsons will continue until an effective, organized and united community campaign are mounted to halt the wheels of the Southern Judicial railroad.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

CUT HERE



PEOPLE'S PETITION

FOR IMMEDIATE PAROLE OF BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD FROM THE CALIFORNIA PRISON SYSTEM OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND WITH A RETRIAL JURY OF HIS PEER-GROUP.

WE THE PEOPLE, RESIDENTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, IN THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERCOMMUNALISM, DO HEREBY REDRESS OUR GRIEVANCE AND PETITION THE COURTS OF AMERICA AND THE CALIFORNIA STATE GOVERNMENT AND PAROLE BOARD: THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE RELEASED FROM HIS PRISON INCARCERATION IN THE CALIFORNIA PENAL SYSTEM TO THE PEOPLE OF OUR COMMUNITIES ON PAROLE OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND.

BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD, POLITICAL PRISONER AND CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WAS IN FACT WRONGFULLY CONVICTED ON FALSE CHARGES BY A PREDOMINATELY WHITE RACIST JURY, AS ALL MEMBERS OF THE OAKLAND BLACK COMMUNITY WERE SYSTEMATICALLY ELIMINATED FROM THE JURY SELECTION PROCESS IN HIS TRIAL.

IN LIGHT OF THESE FACTS, WE THE UNDERSIGNED, THEREFORE PETITION THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE GRANTED HIS HUMAN AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, THAT IS, PAROLE FROM PRISON OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND BY THE AMERICAN COURTS PENDING APPEAL OF HIS CASE BEFORE HIGHER COURTS, AND THAT HIS RETRIAL JURY BE OF HIS PEERS, A TRUE REPRESENTATION OF A CROSS SECTION OF THE COMMUNITY.

	NAME	ADDRESS	CITY/ STATE/ ZIP CODE	COUNTRY	IF IN THE U.S.A. REG. VOTER
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
20					

RETURN ALL PETITIONS TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
1048 PERALTA STREET OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94607

MY MOTHER TOLD ME THAT WE MAY BE BARE-FOOTED AND HUNGRY, BUT THAT WON'T STOP OUR STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

